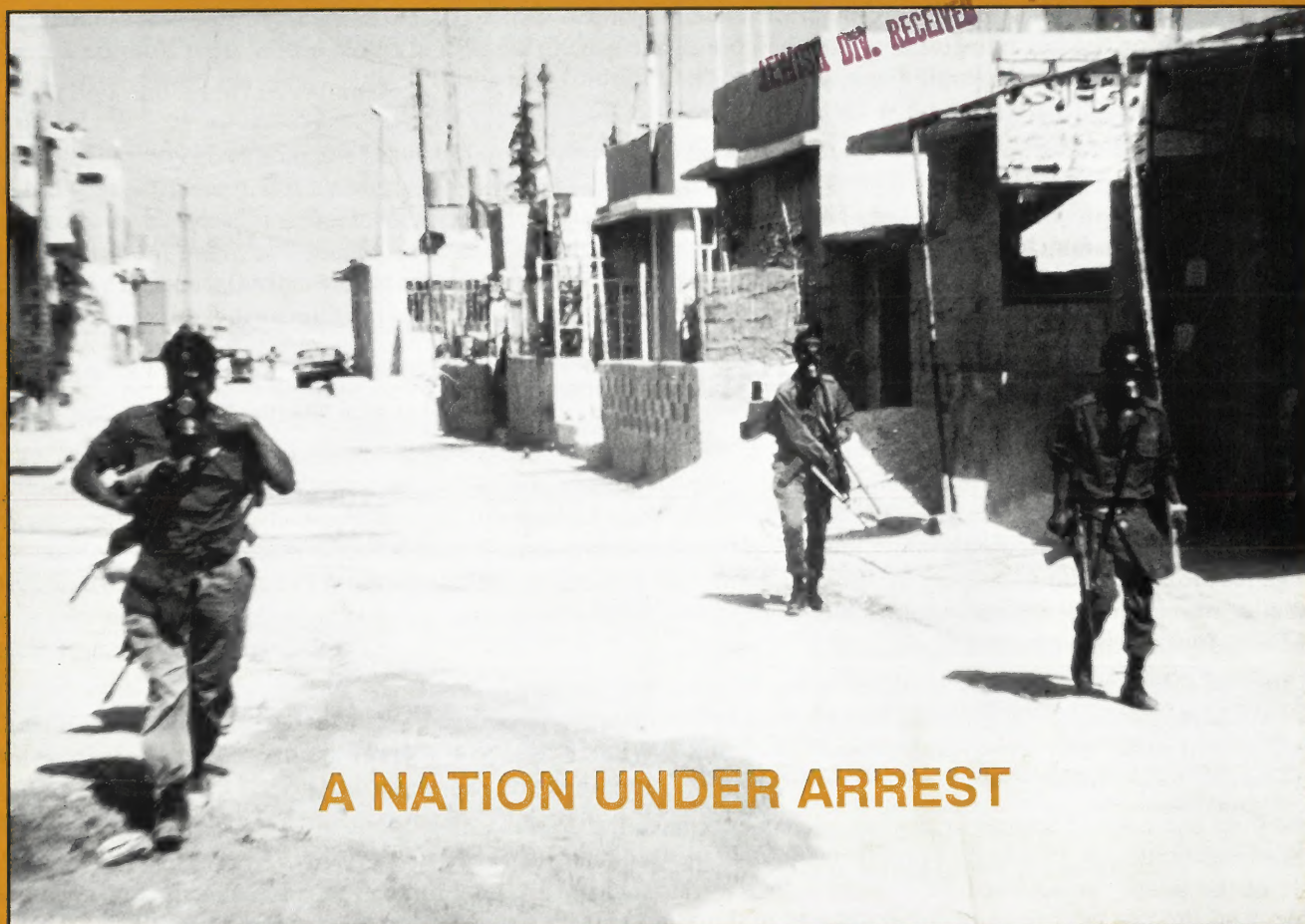


# Palestine Perspectives

Number 51

*The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs*

May/June 1991



## A NATION UNDER ARREST

■ **The Jerusalem Document**—page 4  
Palestinians in the occupied territories  
meet Secretary of State Baker in Jerusalem  
and explain their vision of Arab-Israeli peace

■ **Graffiti As Intifada Weapon**—page 9  
Palestinians frustrate Israeli consors by using  
graffiti as a method of political expression

■ **Housing in the New Palestine**—page 10  
United Nations report on anticipated housing needs  
in the future independent state of Palestine

\$ 2.50



## The Day After

**T**he best thing about wars is that they do come to an end. No matter how long they last, and no matter how viciously they are fought, wars inevitably end.

The latest war in the Middle East has ended. It is important, however, *how* a war is terminated because it determines whether the end of the war is the beginning of peace or the beginning of a countdown to a future war. It is timely to remember this fact as people begin to debate the future of the Middle East after the Gulf War.

There are some vultures who already prepare to feast on the remains of the Middle East. And the Palestinians are seen as a choice victim. The drawing boards are already cluttered with "scenarios" of how to squeeze the Palestinian genie back into the Israeli bottle. And there are more ambitious vultures who are ready to pounce on the entire region and recolonize the Arabs even as the world still celebrates the fragile dawn of freedom, human rights and self-determination elsewhere.

It would be a most short-sighted and self-destructive policy to succumb to the temptation of ordering the Middle East with the view of serving external interests rather than the well-being of its own peoples. There are two dangerous temptations which the world community needs to avoid more than any others: 1) cosmetic treatment of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which would leave the occupation essentially intact, and 2) maneuvering unpopular Arab regimes into a position of mastery in the Arab world. The Gulf rulers, for example, are not exactly desirable role models for the new world order, in the Middle East or elsewhere.

Either of these two situations would be a big mistake, and the two together would be disastrous. They would create another unsustainable status quo, and in that sense they would trigger another countdown for future conflict and doom the Middle East to unending convulsions.

One does not need to appeal to abstract principle to make the point. Pragmatic realism suffices. Peace and stability require that the essential vital interests of the people be satisfied, at least to a degree which makes life tolerable. And the two fatal flows of the status quo in the Middle East are the denial of national rights to the Palestinians, and surviving medievalism (including political autocracy, and an unparalleled maldistribution of Arab wealth). The Middle Eastern version of the new world order must not seek to sanctify a status quo which has proven its inadequacy so many times and in so many tragic ways before.

There are troubling signs already. The short-sighted policy of punishing Jordan, for example, because it did not tow the line is counterproductive. The future of the region deserves better than this sort of emotional outburst. Vindictiveness appeals to small minds, but it has no other virtues.

This is a time when it is particularly important to be intelligent, and not just clever. Let us hope that those are making decisions which will affect humanity's future rise to the task.



*Thanks, readers*

Palestine Perspectives recently made an appeal to its readers for contributions. Your response has been most gratifying. Many of you have contributed, some most generously. We appreciate your response; it carries the message that you care. That means a great deal to us.

## Palestine Perspectives

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*Cover photo: Israeli soldiers enforce curfew in a Gaza refugee camp*



*Palestine Perspectives* is a bimonthly magazine on Palestinian affairs published by Palestine Research and Educational Center  
9522-A Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031

Telephone (703)352-4168

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**Subscription rates:** \$15/year in the United States and Canada and \$25 elsewhere. Add \$10 to checks drawn on banks outside the U.S. Subscribers receive their copies by airmail.

*Signed articles express the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Palestine Perspectives or its staff.*

# The Bitter Fruit of Occupation

By Richard Cohen

It's hard to imagine Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in white tie and tails, but the man has adopted the basic technique of a stage magician: divert the audience's attention. Thus, while the world focused on the Persian Gulf war and admired Israel's restraint, Shamir welcomed into his governing coalition a political party whose platform calls for the expulsion of all Arabs from the West Bank. If this is magic, it's of the blackest kind.

The Moledet Party gives Shamir's Likud bloc a firm 66 votes in the 120-seat parliament. But it also gives a way of measuring the character of the Likud bloc, not to mention Shamir himself. Despite some well-publicized second thoughts—and reportedly with several key ministers voting no—the governing Israeli coalition now includes a political party that many Israelis consider downright racist.

"Racist" may be an unfair term. As best I can determine, the Moledet's founder, retired Gen. Rehavin Zeevi, does not argue that the Arabs are racially inferior to Jews—merely that the two cannot coexist within the same state. Nevertheless, Zeevi (ironically called Gandhi, because he's as thin as the late Indian pacifist) is an extremist who has been invited into the very center of the Israeli political establishment. He has become a member of the so-called security cabinet, a kind of Israeli national security council.

The consequences are entirely predictable. A man who is anathema to all but a few Israelis (Moledet polled about 2 percent of the vote in the last elections) will be able to assert himself as a government spokesman. Although no admirer of the media, he is nevertheless adept at using it. Get used to that gaunt face: Zeevi will increasingly be seen on the tube.

Whatever Shamir's reasons for inviting Moledet into his government coalition, he has done so smoothly. Israelis themselves are ill-disposed at the moment to make much of a fuss about the appointment. The country is in an odd state of half-war. With Shamir in effect saying, "Look, look at the enemy," he slipped Zeevi out of his sleeve—not a pigeon, but a hawk.

What has worked in blunting Israeli outrage has worked also for American Jews. From them has come not a peep of criticism. Likewise distracted by the war, and not inclined to be critical of Israel when it is being attacked by Iraq, the American Jewish community has apparently decided to hold its fire. But when it chooses to make its views known, it might well be too late.

It could be Moledet was asked to join the ruling coalition solely for domestic political reasons. By broadening his coalition to 66 out of parliament's 120 seats, Shamir leaves himself less beholden to the small religious parties that can bolt at any minute.

Also, he co-opts Moledet itself and acknowledges the growing sentiment in Israel to deal drastically with the Palestinians.

But whatever Shamir's domestic reasons, he must recognize that the appointment of Zeevi sends a clear message to both the Arab world and the United States: Jerusalem remains as implacably opposed to trading land (the West Bank and Gaza Strip) for peace as ever. If anything, the war seems to have solidified that sentiment. The inner cabinet now has a man who not only wants to retain the West Bank but wants it free of Arabs. Never mind that he asks for a voluntary Palestinian exodus. Make things tough enough on people, and they will almost certainly volunteer to leave.

More and more, Israel is reaping the consequences of its occupation of the West Bank and its repression of 750,000 Palestinians. Little by little, that occupation is forcing Israel to adopt measures that few envisioned when the Jewish state was created. Modeled after European parliamentary democracies, animated by humanistic Judaism and acquainted with oppression almost beyond description, Israel has nevertheless resorted to methods that seem to contradict the very ethic of the state. Just recently, for instance, the government arrested a prominent Palestinian leader, Sari Nusseibeh, on charges of spying for Iraq—and sentenced him without trial. It's hard not to conclude that Nusseibeh was merely being silenced.

Now Israel has welcomed into the government a man who even Likud hard-liners find objectionable. The same sort of action—the inclusion of a neo-Nazi in the German government, for instance—would have produced a din of objection. But Yitzhak Shamir knew that the world was looking toward the Gulf and that a beholden American government (not to mention American Jewish leaders) would say nothing. It turns out that the first victim of war is not truth. It's principle. □

*Reprinted from the Washington Post, 21 February 1991*

## However...

- The fact that the Moledet Party received 2 percent of the vote does not mean that only 2 percent of the Israeli public support its ideology. Public opinion polls in Israel show that nearly half (49 percent) support the "transfer" of Palestinians.
- The "transfer" of the Palestinians (i.e. their mass expulsion from their country) is neither a new idea in Israel nor is it limited to a fanatical fringe. It is the oldest and most persistent Zionist answer to the fact that Palestine could not be turned into Israel without the expulsion of its indigenous population. Also, it is not only an idea; it has been practiced repeatedly.
- Imprisoning Palestinians without trial is not new or rare or the result of the world's preoccupation with the Gulf war. It is a practice (known as administrative detention) which has been going on since the occupation began.
- It is not the Gulf war which inhibits American Jewish criticism of Israeli policy. As Abba Eban once put it, American Jews always followed the "keep your pockets open and mouths shut" policy on Israel. □



"We, the Palestinians of the Intifada"

## What Baker Heard from the Palestinians in Jerusalem

► During his March trip to the Middle East, Secretary of State James Baker met with a group of Palestinian personalities from occupied Palestine. They delivered to him the following statement of their position on the Arab-Israeli peace process. Two of those who were invited refused to attend, but they explained that their decision did not mean that they disagreed with the statement; only that they did not believe that the U.S. and Israeli governments were serious about a just peace.

### The Jerusalem Document

In the aftermath of the Gulf War, neither regional nor global politics can afford procrastination or evasion. As Palestinians who have been made to endure prolonged occupation and dispossession, we are heartened by verbal commitments and statements of intent to solve the Palestinian Question on the basis of the principle of land for peace and the implementation of all pertinent U.N. resolutions. From our experience, however, resolve and application hold the fate of our whole nation in sway. We maintain that in spite of the painful and traumatic experience of the Gulf War, the time has come for embarking on decisive and future-oriented action rather than indulging in recrimination and retrospection.

It has thus become imperative that the activation of the U.N. as the expression of the will of the international community be impartially maintained in the non-selective implementation of legality and the values of justice and moral politics. If a new global vision is emerging, it must be solidly based on the objective will and consent of the international community and must protect the inviolable rights of peoples as enshrined in the U.N. Charter and all other international conventions and agreements. Such a vision of justice, peace and stability cannot admit the subjective criteria of power, wealth, land acquisition, strength of arms, natural resources, ethnic origins, religious affiliation, cultural perspectives or national identity as factors in upholding rights and passing judgments. Nor must such resolutions be held captive to the intransigence of the violator in relation to the victim or to manipulation of

the powerful in relation to the weak. The will of the international community must be maintained as a firm and uniform reference for equitable arbitration not subject to selective alteration or deferment.

◆

***"The PLO...is empowered to represent us...having the democratic legitimacy of a popular base and enjoying the overwhelming support of its constituency"***

◆

We, the Palestinians of the Intifada, the portion of the Palestinian nation who bear the yoke of occupation rather than exile and dispersion, on the strength of our commitment to this new vision affirm the following:

1) The PLO is our sole legitimate leadership and interlocutors, embodying the national identity and expressing the will of the Palestinian people everywhere. As such, it is empowered to represent us in all political negotiations and endeavors, having the democratic legitimacy of a popular base and enjoying the overwhelming support of its constituency. The Palestinian people alone have the right to choose their leadership and will not tolerate any attempt at interference or control in this vital issue.

2) We confirm our commitment to the Palestinian peace initiative and political program as articulated in the 19th [session of the Palestine National Council] PNC of November 1988, and maintain our resolve to pursue a just political settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on that basis. Our objective remains to establish the independent Palestinian state on the national soil of Palestine, next to the state of Israel and within the

framework of the two-state solution.

3) Our adherence to international legitimacy remains unwavering, and we uphold the rule of international law in accepting and supporting all U.N. resolutions pertaining to the question of Palestine, and thus call for their immediate and full implementation.

4) The national rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized, safeguarded and upheld—foremost among which is our right to self-determination, freedom and statehood.

5) No state must be singled out for preferential treatment by the international community or considered above the norms and laws that govern the behavior of or relations among nations. Thus Israel must not be allowed to continue pre-empting, rejecting or violating U.N. resolutions *vis-a-vis* the Palestinians especially in the annexation of East Jerusalem, the establishment of settlements, and the confiscation of land and resources. Of particular relevance and urgency is the imperative necessity of applying the Fourth Geneva Conventions of 1949 to protect the defenseless and civilian Palestinian population from the brutality of the occupation, particularly in its persistent violations of our most basic human rights and all forms of collective punishments such as house demolitions, closure of universities and schools, curfews, military sieges and economic strangulation.

6) The *de facto* sovereignty which Israel illegally practices over occupied Palestine must cease immediately, and a system of protection for Palestinians and accountability for Israel must be established and applied within the mandate of the U.N. with the Security Council exercising its right of enforcement.

7) The peace process must be advanced with the momentum generated by the will of the international community, and not made subject to Israeli concurrence and rejection. (Continued on page 11)



# A NATION UNDER HOUSE ARREST

## *Israel Keeps the Palestinians Vulnerable and Locked Up During the Gulf War*

**T**he Palestinians under Israeli rule were made to serve as a human shield for Israel as it dodged Iraqi missiles. Unlike Jews in Israel, they were left vulnerable, a human buffer. As the war raged around them, they were left without warning sirens to alert them, masks to protect them, and a civil defense system to care for them.

Granted, Iraq was not likely to target the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza, but all military experts said that the SCUD missile was not terribly accurate, and the Palestinians were for that reason not immune to injury. In fact, Israel said on the twelfth day of the war that fragments of an Iraqi missile had landed in an unidentified West Bank village.

### *Nation in Detention*

**W**hen the war in the Gulf began, Israel imposed a total and general curfew in occupied Palestine, making its nearly two million inhabitants virtual prisoners. It also declared areas as "closed military zones," making them inaccessible to the media. Representatives of international groups in the area, however, reported that the curfew had caused severe hardship in the occupied territories.

► It had limited accessibility to **medical care**. By confining the Palestinians to their homes, Israel denied them access to first aid and health services. "Of equal concern," says a report by the international Non-Governmental Organizations from Jerusalem, "the transport of patients requiring emergency treatment is frequently obstructed by the Israeli authorities." This obstruction of access to medical treatment, says the NGO's statement, "is placing both children and adults in life-threatening situations."

► It had caused **economic hardship**. Income of workers dependent on daily wages was severely reduced, because

they were not allowed to get to their places of work during curfew. The agricultural sector was also damaged because people were not allowed to work in their fields, to harvest or to market farm produce. As the curfew continued, it was feared, the entire live-stock population would be put at risk through starvation.

Even in "normal" times Palestinian agriculture suffered from Israeli harassment and restrictions. The unavailability of farm

credit, restrictions on marketing and water consumption were compounded during the war by curfews which prohibited the movement of the entire population.

► Violations of **human rights**. The curfew itself is a violation of human rights, because it is a form of collective punishment. In addition, however, international observers note that "there has been an alarming rise in the degree and number of human rights violations during the curfew." These, according to a statement by the international NGOs, include "opening fire without warning, widespread beatings, frequent teargassing including the shooting of tear gas canisters into homes

under curfew, arbitrary arrests and exorbitant fines." The NGOs say that the maximum penalty for leaving one's home in the occupied territories was raised at the end of the first week of the war to 30,000 shekels (\$15,000) and five years in prison.

The curfew, say the NGOs, "has become a serious obstacle that endangers the life and livelihood of over 1.7 million Palestinians." They also called attention to discrimination against the Palestinians, in spite of a court order, who remained largely unprotected due to the lack of gas masks and civil defense warning against attack.

What is particularly disturbing is that while the Israeli authorities found masks for tourists, they claimed that they did not have enough for the resident Palestinians. Children were especially at risk, because masks to fit them had not been made available.

### *More American Aid*

**A**nd Israel wants a generous reward from America. It wants \$13 billion, above and beyond its annual subsidy: \$3 billion to compensate it for lost trade and tourism, and \$10 billion to house arriving Soviet immigrants. It is also seeking a political commitment that, after the Gulf War, the U.S. will shelter it from international pressure to deal with the occupation of Palestine. □

### **Palestinians Fear Mass Expulsion**

**F**or years, it has been a widely shared belief in the Middle East that Israel has plans to undertake the mass expulsion of Palestinians from the occupied West Bank and Gaza under the cover of a general war in the region. Many Palestinians fear that the influx of Soviet Jews converged with the war in the Gulf to afford Israel its unique opportunity to carry out its expulsion plans.

This fear was in fact one of the main reasons why Jordan made a desperate effort to stay out of the military conflict and to prevent the expansion of the war beyond the Gulf region. Israel's plans for the mass expulsion of Palestinians from the occupied territories is of vital interest to Jordan, not only because it opposes the eviction of the Palestinians, but also because of Israel's known interest in destabilizing Jordan as an integral part of its scheme. Israel believes that if it expels enough Palestinians to Jordan, it can argue that Jordan is the appropriate place for them to exercise their right to national self-determination, and that they would have no further claims on Palestinian territories which Israel then would proceed to annex. The "Jordan is Palestine" notion has always been the Zionist solution. □

# The Palestinians After the Gulf War

## Will the Arab-Israeli Conflict Be Tackled Or Evaded...Again?

The Gulf War has occasioned much speculation about the future of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The diminishment of East-West rivalry, it is said, would make it possible for the international community to do what it has not been able to do to resolve it. It is also said that the U.S. government, in deference to its Arab allies in the Gulf War, would find it necessary to press Israel for a settlement.

On the other hand, Israel has been busy closing doors. It is using the influx of Soviet immigrants to argue that a larger population needs a larger Israel, and it has been rehabilitating its image rather than reconsidering its policies.

There is no question that the Gulf crisis has put the Palestine question back on the top of the international agenda. The Gulf War has shown how volatile Middle East conflicts can be, and it has shown how much Palestine weighs on the consciousness of the region. The Bush administration's protests that the Gulf crisis and the Arab-Israeli conflict are unrelated issues have pretty much fallen on deaf ears elsewhere in the world. The international community as a whole has accepted the view that the Middle East will continue to threaten the peace of the world as long as the Palestine question remained unsettled.

It is ironic that it was not only Saddam Hussein who raised the linkage issue, but the linkage was inadvertently confirmed by the Bush administration, even as it labored to keep the Gulf crisis and the Arab-Israeli conflict separate. Statements on the Bush administration's war objectives made it inescapable that the Palestine question would also be raised. By insisting that in the "new world order" military occupation cannot be allowed to stand, and that Security Council resolutions cannot be defied, the Bush administration put the question of continued Israeli occupation and persistent Israeli refusal to implement Security Council resolutions on the world's agenda.

Is Washington willing to do what it takes to move Israel on the road to peace? It is clear that only the U.S. can move Israel, because of its dependence on U.S. support, but there are no signs that the U.S. is willing to use that leverage. Domestic politics stands in the way. If Mr. Baker continues to shuttle only to get more Arab concessions for Israel, another opportunity for peace will be lost, and Washington will need another scapegoat to blame for future wars in the Middle East. ☐

### Help For Gulf War Victims

Urgent aid for the innocent Iraqi victims of the recent Gulf War is the subject of an appeal by the Arab Crisis Coordinating Committee. The appeal, citing a WHO/UNICEF report, says that the health and lives of many, particularly children, are imperiled due to severe shortages in food, medicines, electricity and safe drinking water.

The Committee says that the following American and international organizations can use urgently needed donations, which are tax-deductible:

► **UNICEF:** Supplies medicines and medical relief teams and other health related assistance:

*UNICEF House  
Three United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017*

[Write "for relief in Iraq" on your check]

► **Save the Children:** Works through the Jordanian Red Crescent Society:

*Middle East Emergency Fund  
Box 975  
Westport, CT 06881*

[Write "Jordan Red Crescent to assist in Iraq" on your check]

► **Arab American Medical Association:** Works with UNICEF; helps children with vaccines, antibiotics and other medicines as well as baby formulas:

*AAMA Emergency Relief  
P. O. Box 794  
Bloomfield Hills, MI 48303*

► **United Holy Land Fund:** Provides relief to Palestinian and Iraqi children:

*UHLF, P. O. Box 1981  
Chicago, IL 60690*

[If you wish, please specify "Palestinian" or "Iraqi children" on your check]

## The Palestinians and the Gulf

*The Palestinians and the War in the Gulf* is the title of a recent report published by the Washington-based Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine. The report includes six papers given at the Center's February 11, 1991 symposium on the impact of the Gulf War on the Palestinians and the peace process.

Papers in the report include: Muhammad Hallaj, "Explaining the Palestinian Position;" William B. Quandt, "The Effect on the Peace Process in the Middle East;" Ziad Abu Amr, "The Political Effect on the Occupied Territories;" Bishara A. Bahbah, "The Economic Consequences on Palestinians;" Shukri B. Abed, "The Impact on Israel's Attitude Toward the Palestinians;" and Hisham Sharabi, "Consequences in the Arab and Muslim World."

The Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine was established in September 1990 as the educational program of the Jerusalem Fund. Its purpose is to study and analyze the relationship between the United States and the Middle East, with emphasis on the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Center also seeks through its educational activities and publications "to provide a much-needed Palestinian/Arab perspective" to opinion leaders in the United States, and to provide analysis on matters relating to U.S. Mideast policy to Arab audiences.

*The Palestinians and the War in the Gulf* is the Center's first publication. It also plans to publish a periodic newsletter.

For information on the Center and its publications, contact it at the following address:

*2435 Virginia Avenue  
Washington, DC 20037  
Telephone: (202) 338-1290*

Transcripts of a conference on the Middle East after the Gulf War, held by the Council for the National Interest (CNI) in Washington on February 13, 1991 are available from:

*CNI  
P. O. Box 53048  
Washington, DC 20009*



## Why the Palestinians Continue to be Loyal to the PLO

Even some friends of the Palestinians and supporters of their struggle for national rights fall for it. That's why the idea seems attractive and keeps coming back. "PLO leaders have an image problem in the West," the Palestinians are told, sometimes even by well-meaning people. The inference, of course, is if the Palestinians dumped their present leadership and installed "new faces" they would live happily ever after, or something like that.

The Palestinians heard it many times before, and now they are hearing it again. Now, the old merchandise has new packaging: The PLO blundered by "embracing Saddam," the Palestinians are being told, and it lost esteem where it matters, in the West.

"Really?" the Palestinians irreverently reply. "We didn't know the West esteemed the PLO before the Gulf War."

### *Some Background*

Like most issues, this one too has a background, of course. In fact the story goes back more than two decades when the PLO came into being to lead the struggle of the Palestinians for national rights and—as the American Friends Service Committee put it in its 1970 report, *Compassionate Peace*—the Palestinians reemerged "in one of the great surprises of history" to proclaim that they were still around and could no longer be ignored. Ever since then, the Palestinians have been advised to dump their leaders, by those who wished to subvert their national unity.

*The Palestinians are again hearing an old song with which they have become very bored: "dump your leadership; you deserve better." But they are not listening, and for good reasons. Those who are giving the unsolicited advice have not shown themselves to be trusted custodians of the interests of the Palestinians. And they promise nothing which would assure the Pa-*

*lestinians that their lot would improve if they were to take their advice. The real issue, of course, is not the PLO's image. No people who had ever rebelled against foreign occupiers, as the Palestinians are rebelling against Israel's occupation, had a leadership that their adversary thought was likeable. What's the real issue, then?*

Countries which wanted to subvert the Palestinian struggle for national rights, such as Israel, and countries which exploited the Palestinian cause, such as Jordan and Syria at different times, tried to delegitimize the PLO by either appointing themselves or by finding clients to challenge the PLO's leadership of the Palestinians.

Israel's establishment of the "Village Leagues" in the 1970s is an example. All such attempts failed, because the PLO is a freely-chosen Palestinian leadership and it is the only party which faithfully reflects Palestinian sentiments. No one else does, and the Palestinians know it.

### *The Myth With Seven Lives*

Myths, like cats, have many lives, however, and the futile search for a substitute Palestinian leadership keeps reappearing after every major event in the Middle East.

Now, the effort is being led by the U.S. government, which is very strange considering how much this country brags about its championship of the principle that legitimacy derives from the consent of the governed. It does not seem to matter, in this case, that the Palestinians—though they are the last to argue that their leaders are philosopher kings—are

not interested in having an external power appoint new leaders for them. Certainly, not a power which has not yet seen fit to accept their fundamental national rights.

The strangest thing about this search for new leaders is the premise behind it: that they should be acceptable to the parties which deny Palestinian national rights. Such a leadership is not only illegitimate, but without popular support it would not be able to deliver. But the futile search goes on. □



*PLO leader Yasser Arafat is not Plato's philosopher king, but the Palestinians like him*



## In Brief

■ **No Permit to Live**—A Palestinian infant died because her family was unable to secure a permit from the Israeli military authorities to take her to a hospital during curfew. The baby, Shurouq Abdelatif Yassin, was born at home because when her father ventured out to apply for a permit to take his wife to a hospital to give birth, an Israeli soldier threatened to shoot him if he did not return home. The baby was delivered at home and died three days later when her father again failed to get a permit to take her to hospital in Ramallah.

■ **The Unfree**—A number of Palestinians are still in Israeli prisons after having served their sentences in full. The prisoners, according to Palestinian sources, were serving sentences of varying length on charges of infiltration from Lebanon. No reason is given for their continued detention.

■ **Palestinians in Lebanon**—Sources in Jordan believe that during his latest visit to the Middle East, in mid March, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker pressed the Syrian government to disarm the Palestinians in Lebanon. It is known that the U.S. ambassador to Damascus declared earlier that disarming the Palestinians was one of the top objectives of U.S. policy in the area.

■ **Hospital Shelled**—The Palestine Red Crescent Society reported that its hospital at Rashidieh refugee camp in the south of Lebanon received a direct hit during a recent attack by Israeli artillery. Five persons were killed, said the Society, and 20 were injured.

■ **BZU Asks for Protection**—Birzeit University Vice-President Dr. Gabi Baramki says Palestinian higher education struggles for survival. Birzeit, and other Palestinian universities in occupied Palestine, have been shut down by Israeli occupation authorities for the fourth year. "It's time for the international community," said Baramki, "to exercise the powers given it under international law, and particularly under the Fourth Geneva Convention, and provide protection for Palestinians under occupation and their institutions." Israel does not acknowledge the applicability of the Geneva Conventions to its colonies.

■ **Intifada Heats Up**—Renewed violence erupted in occupied Palestine in late March as a result of Israel's return to the policy of deportation. On March 27, two Palestinians, Said Abu Non, 12, and Sami Abdul Aal, 20, both from Rafah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip were shot dead by Israeli soldiers during protests against Israel's most recent decision to expel four Palestinians from Gaza. Fifty-three other Palestinians were injured by Israeli gunfire. Intifada fatalities among Palestinians are now 934.

■ **Palestinian Profile**—The Palestine Human Rights Campaign has issued the third edition of its popular publication, *A Profile of the Palestinian People*.

*Palestinians in Kuwait*  
The Palestinian community in Kuwait, numbering about 400,000 before the Gulf War, has become a shadow of its former self. Not only has its size been cut in half, with an estimated 170,000 remaining, but it is also threatened as official and unofficial Kuwaiti vigilantes conduct a witch hunt of resident aliens in the country.

Reports by foreign journalists and human rights organizations tell gruesome stories of harassment and violence against nationals of countries which had not supported the anti-Iraqi coalition during the Gulf War, including Algerians, Jordanians, Sudanese, as well as Palestinians. But the Palestinians, the largest of non-Kuwaiti communities, are bearing the brunt of attacks on non-nationals. Human rights groups fear more violence.

■ **Refugees Terrorized**—Israeli soldiers have been terrorizing residents of Qalandia refugee camp on the outskirts of Jerusalem. Witnesses say that soldiers raid homes, usually in the middle of the night, and provoke and beat up their inhabitants.

■ **Palestinian Trade**—The Palestinians are succeeding in achieving partial economic independence from Israel, one of the objectives of the intifada. A year before the intifada began, reports *Tanmiya*, the newsletter of the Geneva-based Welfare Association, the Palestinian trade deficit with Israel was \$243 million. In 1987, the year the intifada began, it was reduced to \$175 million, and then to \$43 million in 1988. In 1989, Palestinian trade with Israel produced a net surplus of \$52 million, the first year since Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza that a surplus was generated.

■ **Grand Rabbi Calls for Palestinian State**—The Grand Rabbi of Denmark, Ben Melchior, said that a Palestinian state was inevitable, and that it is in Israel's interest not to stand in the way. The rabbi also said that with 2.5 million unwilling Palestinian subjects under its rule, Israel cannot be a democracy.

■ **Universities Still Closed**—Four Palestinian universities (Birzeit, Najah, Hebron, Gaza), serving about 80 percent of Palestinian university students in occupied Palestine, are still closed. Only Bethlehem and Jerusalem universities have been allowed to reopen since the Palestinian education system was ordered shut down by the Israeli occupation authorities at the beginning of 1988.

■ **Spain Aids Gaza**—Spain contributed more than \$200,000 to a planned hospital for Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip. The \$35 million hospital will be built by UNRWA.

■ **Palestinians Squeezed Out**—West Bank Arab residents are being pushed off their land by denying them the right to build on much of it. The Israeli human rights group, B'Tselem, reports that Israel prohibits the Palestinians from building on 68 percent of the total area of the West Bank. In the meantime, the U.S. government agreed to release \$400 million in loan guarantees for building housing for Soviet Jewish settlers.

■ **Pollard**—The campaign to release convicted Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard is picking up steam. Some believe that fear that Pollard would reveal the name of a highly placed collaborator is behind the intensified campaign on his behalf.

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## Graffiti Art : A Weapon of the Intifada

Street demonstrations and stone throwing have come to typify Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation since the beginning of the intifada more than three years ago. Palestinian struggle for independence, however, has been more varied and more creative. It included disengagement from the mechanisms of Israeli control and the enhancement of community self-sufficiency in economic, educational, health care and other fields.

Palestinian resistance also has a cultural dimension. Poetry, the theater and other forms of cultural expression also became part of the Palestinian arsenal. Perhaps the most widespread has been graffiti.

The intifada's most distinguishing characteristic has been its ability to mobilize Palestinian resources in opposition to Israeli occupation. Resistance to the occupation is not new; it began with the occupation 24 years ago. But until the intifada began in December 1987, resistance was normally limited in terms of its participants and methods. The intifada, by emphasizing non-violent means, and by devising a broad range of means, made it possible to go beyond the traditional narrow circle of activists and made mass participation in the struggle feasible.

### *Intifada Graffiti*

Not only streets, but also farms and factories became arenas for Palestinian opposition to Israeli rule. So did walls, telephone and power poles, tree tops and virtually every space suitable for painting or otherwise displaying Palestinian sentiments and symbols. Palestinian flags and pictures of Palestinian leaders fluttered from the top of mosques and churches and were plastered on whatever space Palestinian youth could reach.

Almost overnight, Palestinian space became a limitless forum of expression. Graffiti joined the stone as a weapon of the intifada. It became a major method of popular expression, and a

widespread gesture of defiance of Israeli suppression. Intifada graffiti became one of the Palestinian methods of disengaging from the mechanisms of control by providing a way to evade Israeli censorship and other limitations on the freedom of expression.

Walls and spray paint undermined the authority of Israeli censors, and in that sense rendered ineffective one of the mechanisms of Israeli control. Graffiti also became a means of communication in a society under surveillance. Political groups—their existence forbidden—found the means to shout their existence, to disseminate their messages, and to mobilize their followers and sympathizers.

More important, perhaps, is the fact that intifada graffiti gave a voice to the voiceless, ordinary people who do not get interviewed by foreign journalists. It strengthened the grassroots character of the intifada by giving ordinary anonymous people an input in the political struggle over their fate.

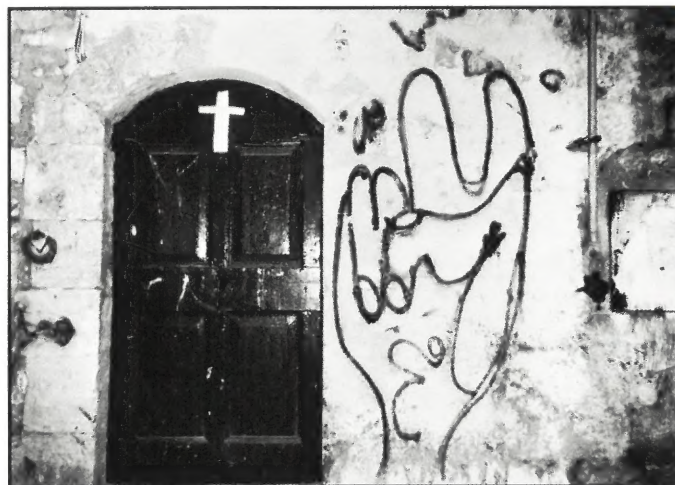
Graffiti as a form of Palestinian popular resistance to Israel is ephemeral history, and it is fortunate that a team of researchers have documented it and preserved its messages. Anne Marie Oliver and Paul Steinberg, two Jerusalem-based writers, have amassed a large collection of intifada graffiti photographs and slides during the past two years. They have recently toured the U.S., lecturing on this form of Palestinian political culture.

According to Oliver and Steinberg, graffiti, as a means of political expression, became popular because more traditional methods of expression are denied to the Palestinians, and because of the mass nature of the intifada.

Unlike the "leaflets" of the intifada, issued by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising, graffiti is the way of the rank and file to express their sentiments. And they do so mostly by displaying Palestinian national symbols—the Palestinian flag, photographs of Yasser Arafat, maps of Palestine—which are forbidden by the Israeli occupation authorities. The anonymity afforded by this form of expression also enables outlawed PLO groups to make their presence visible and to communicate messages to their constituencies.

### *Resistance and Repression*

From the beginning of the intifada, wall space became a real "theater" of operations in the battle between Israel and its unwilling Palestinian subjects. Israeli troops forced Palestinians to smear or whitewash graffiti, and Palestinian youth came back with new messages. Finally, Israel gave up the losing battle and, according to Oliver and Steinberg, practically every inch of usable space was covered with intifada graffiti. The battle of the graffiti was a battle won by the Palestinians. □



*The "V" (victory) sign, shown here painted on a monastery wall in Jerusalem, is a popular intifada graffiti symbol*

► **Note:** For information on the "Intifada Graffiti" project, contact Oliver and Steinberg at the following address:  
**Anne Marie Oliver & Paul Steinberg**  
**Shirizli 19**  
**94315 Jerusalem, Israel**

# Housing in the State of Palestine

## Report By U.N. Habitat Assesses Needs and Strategies

Since Israel grabbed the West Bank Gaza in the war of 1967, Palestinian housing has been one of the principal targets of Israel's policy of making life difficult in the occupied territories. The continuing confiscation of land and the demolition of homes have aggravated housing shortages. The usurpation of licensing authority, taken from Palestinian municipalities by the Israeli army, and restrictions on the entry of funds from outside have made it difficult for the Palestinian residents of the occupied territories to deal with the housing situation by limiting their ability to build.

At the same time, Israel continues to build government-subsidized housing for Jewish settlers. Recently, Israel has obtained a U.S. government-guaranteed loan for \$400 million, and it is asking for \$10 billion from Washington to finance housing for Soviet Jewish settlers. Private funds are also being raised from the American Jewish community to subsidize housing in Israel and the occupied lands, housing which is available only to Jews.

### U.N. Report

The housing problem in Palestine, says a recent report on the subject by the U.N. Commission on Human Settlement (Habitat), has three dimensions:

► Present **overcrowdedness** needs to be alleviated. The U.N. report says that 32.9 percent of the West Bank population, and 37.7 percent of Gaza population, live in overcrowded conditions—three or more persons per room. Median room densities in the West Bank and Gaza are 2.4 and 2.6 persons, respectively. In contrast, only 0.8 percent of the Israeli population live in similarly crowded conditions.

► More housing is needed to keep up with demand due to **population growth**. The study, which covers the period ending in 2007, expects the population of the West Bank (including Arab Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip to reach 3,218,300 persons.

► The future state of Palestine needs to make housing available to **returning**

Palestinians, now living in refugee camps outside the country. The study, using various assumptions, expects that nearly 2.5 million diaspora Palestinians would return to their homeland after independence, in three waves between the years 1993 and 2007. Natural population increase plus returning Palestinians would bring Palestine's total population in the year 2007 to 4,455,400 persons living in 586,000 distinct households.

To house this population, while at the same time reducing overcrowdedness, the report calculates, the new Palestinian state needs to build an additional two million rooms.

The report outlines "Components of the Strategy" to cope with this task. They include, in addition to housing itself, the provision of an infrastructure (roads, water, electricity, waste disposal facilities, etc.), and the provision of low-income (perhaps rental) housing for destitute refugees who would be among the returnees.

The report says that an adequate skilled labor force (engineers and experienced construction workers) among Palestinians and some essential building materials (e.g. stones) already exist.

Plants to make other building materials such as cement and iron rods from scrap metal are feasible.

The report also discusses the financing of needed housing, the necessary legal framework (an independent public agency, and the role of the private sector in meeting the expected demand on the resources of the future Palestinian state.

### Suggested Reading

□ George T. Abed, *The Economic Viability of a Palestinian State*. Washington, IPS, 1990.



*Inside and outside Palestine, the destruction of Palestinian housing has been routine. UNRWA photo of refugee family from the Gaza Strip on the rubble of their house, destroyed by Israeli occupation troops*



8) The most suitable mechanism for advancing the peace process is the International Conference which is capable of producing concrete results. Any transitional steps or arrangements will have to be structured within a comprehensive, interconnected and coherent plan with a specified time frame for implementation and leading to Palestinian statehood.

9) The peace process cannot be further undermined by Israel's policy of creating facts to alter the geopolitical, demographic or social realities of our area. The political decapitation of the Palestinian people through the arrest and detention of our political activists and peace advocates must stop and the detainees released. The Iron Fist policy and the escalation of all forms of repression and harassment not only create intolerable conditions for Palestinians but also generate feelings of hostility and bitterness which are capable of sabotaging the peace process.

10) Security for the whole region will be ensured only through a genuine and internationally-guaranteed peace, not through the acquisition of arms and territory or through violence. Genuine peace and stability will result from addressing the central causes of conflicts in a serious and comprehensive manner, the Palestinian question being the key to regional stability. Only by solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict can the Arab-Israeli conflict be solved in a durable and just manner.

11) The stability and prosperity of the region can be achieved through future cooperation based on mutuality, reciprocity and the recognition and pursuit of joint interests and rights.

As Palestinians under occupation, we are able to transcend the iniquities and oppression of the present and to project a future image of peace and stability. In doing so, we affirm our national rights, adhere to international legitimacy and envisage the prospects of a new world based on the politics of justice and morality.

◆

*Protect your right to know  
Read Palestine Perspectives*

## "Extra-Judicial Executions"

### Israeli Special Units With License to Kill

In other places they are called "death squads," and they are abhorred and condemned. In Israel they are simply "special" or "elite" units, and the world either does not know or does not care about them and what they do. But they are death squads nevertheless, and their job is to murder and terrorize unarmed civilians.

The Chicago-based Palestine Human Rights Information Center called the work of these Israeli army units in occupied Palestine "extra-judicial executions" and the description fits perfectly. In one of its recent monthly reports (*From the Field*), PHRIC described an incident involving Israel's best in action:

"On December 29 [1990], an undercover squad of an 'elite' unit of Israeli soldiers, dressed in civilian clothes and driving Arab cars with local Gaza license plates, entered Rafah. At about 2:45 p.m. the soldiers spotted two masked youth writing graffiti in commemoration of the January 1 anniversary of Fateh, and killed them. The youths were Hisham Yunis Harb, 19, and Fawzi Sa'id Issa, 20. The military spokesperson (Israeli Radio, 5:00 p.m.) claimed that the soldiers had first shouted an order to halt, fired warning shots, and then fired at the youths. According to PHRIC preliminary information, however, the disguised soldiers drove up to the youths and opened fire immediately, without any orders to halt or warning shots. Witnesses report that the young men were hit with multiple bullets before they had any chance to flee. According to the December 30 *Jerusalem Post*, the army alleged that the youths were armed with knives, a charge denied by eyewitnesses. Some eyewitnesses also reported seeing collaborators with soldiers in one of the vehicles. The bodies of the two young men were taken by the army to an undisclosed location."

Commenting on Israel's much advertised policy against capital punishment, presumably proof of the high moral standards of the Jewish state, the report said that Israel's "policy on the ground, enabling soldiers to shoot-to-kill any masked person, amounts to extra-

judicial execution orders against *intifada* activists." It said that at least 30 Palestinian youths have been shot and killed in this manner between July 1989—when orders to shoot masked youth were issued—until the end of November 1990, and the number is still rising.

#### *A Continuing Problem*

The use of death squads by Israel to suppress Palestinian protests is not a new problem; it is a continuing problem. When they first began to be used officially—meaning as a matter of state policy—in the summer of 1989, there were some reports about it in the U.S. media. There were reports of Israeli units, disguised in civilian clothes, often as foreign journalists or tourists, using cars with West Bank or Gaza license plates, killing Palestinian protesters. Then the matter ceased to be news and no one talks or writes about it anymore. But Palestinians continue to be assassinated by Israelis with license to kill. □

#### *Palestinian Elections*

One of the strengths of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation has been its ability to innovate, to come up with new methods of resistance. The initial clashes with Israeli troops gave way to nation-building, a process of reducing Palestinian dependence on Israel and of neutralizing the mechanisms of control by establishing alternative Palestinian institutions, such as the popular committees.

The next step to enhance Palestinian de facto independence is now being debated. The people of the occupied territories are considering electing representatives to the Palestine National Council, the Palestinian parliament in exile. The virtues of the idea, according to its advocates, is that it gives the people of occupied Palestine a voice in the councils of the PLO, and it shuts the door in the face of Israel's attempts to meddle in the Palestinians' right to choose their own leadership. Israel opposes participation in the PNC. □

# What Price Israel?

*The Strategic Asset Turns Out to be a Strategic Liability*

Since Israel's lobby in Washington fabricated the myth of Israel the American "strategic asset" a few years ago, the myth has been repeated so often that it has come to be unthinkingly accepted as true. The Gulf War exposed it as a myth, but myths die hard and it still serves as a most lucrative marketing strategy, worth billions of American taxpayers' dollars every year. And it did not stop with money; Israel gained unprecedented access to American military technology and intelligence, and it became the sole licensed maker of U.S. Middle East policy.

## Uncle Sam Pays

The U.S. Congress has already begun to pay Israel for letting the U.S. fight its Arab enemy. Israel has weathered another storm with minimal risk and at great profit. It has already received two checks for more than a billion dollars, a \$400 million loan guarantee to build housing for Soviet Jewish immigrants, and then a \$660 million for damage from the Gulf War.

This is just a down payment, of course. Israel's bill to Uncle Sam is \$13 billion, above and beyond the substantial annual subsidy it regularly receives in economic and military assistance. Congress is not known for being stingy with Israel, so the story will obviously have a sequel. Germany also chipped in with several hundred million dollars worth of military equipment and other forms of assistance. Germany explained that it had "special responsibility" to the Jewish state.

Israel has learned to pay more attention to what the U.S. government does than to what it says. If the U.S. is willing to destroy an Arab country to make the Middle East safe for Israel, and pay it for the privilege, Israel has nothing to fear.

Wars used to be profitable for Israel mainly because they netted more Arab land. Now it gets paid a lot of cash to help it keep that land. And the strangest part of the story is that some people still wonder why there is no peace in the Middle East.

The result was disastrous for both America and the Middle East. It culminated in the first Arab-American war in history, and it rendered the future of Arab-American relations highly problematic. More than ever before, American interests in the Arab World are now hostage to a handful of unstable clients.

Although Israel played the role of innocent victim in the Gulf War, it was the finger on the finger on the trigger. Months before Iraq invaded Kuwait, creating the pretext for war, Israel and its proxies in Congress and the media worked diligently to whip up hysteria against Iraq and to spread tales of horror about its alleged military prowess.

## Why Iraq?

Iraq, which until recently was one of few countries in the world in which not even an anti-American demonstration had taken place, suddenly became Washington's nemesis.

Iraq, which had until recently been hailed as the valiant defender of America's friends in the Gulf inexplicably became the world's bogeyman. Israel and its friends in Congress and the media discovered a new Hitler in Baghdad and saw the specter of Nazi Germany in the Gulf. Soon, even the President and his principal advisors repeated the nonsense as if it were self-evident truths.

It started months before Iraq invaded Kuwait, but that fact was quickly and conveniently forgotten. It started when Iraq did not lose the war with Iran and emerged as the dominant military presence in the Gulf region. Then the campaign grew into a crusade when, in April 1990, four months before the invasion of

Kuwait, Saddam Hussein responded to Israeli threats by warning that he would "incinerate half of Israel if it attacked Iraq."

Congress began a series of punitive measures against Iraq, culminating in July when it resolved that an economic embargo should be placed against it. Iraq and the U.S. were put on a collision course. Only the timing and the convenient pretext remained. Saddam Hussein supplied them when he invaded Kuwait on August 2.

The State Department was strangely accommodating. The U.S. ambassador in Baghdad told Saddam Hussein that the U.S. would not intervene in Arab-Arab conflicts such as the long-standing border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait. The Department's spokespersons repeatedly told congressional committees and the media that the U.S. would not intervene militarily on Kuwait's behalf, "because we have no mutual defense treaty with Kuwait."

Israel's wish to change the Arab-Israeli conflict to an Arab-American conflict became achievable. The only thing that remained was to obstruct a political settlement. Israel's friends in Congress, including those who have always opposed U.S. military interventionism abroad, called for war and argued against giving economic sanctions an opportunity to pressure Iraq.

As always, they took their cue from Israel, which had publicly declared that the worst case scenario would be a political resolution of the conflict. They couldn't care less about Kuwait, of course, but they smelled blood and saw the confrontation with Iraq as a unique opportunity to ignite an Arab-American war and to crush the only Arab country with the potential to challenge Israel's military superiority in the Middle East. Israel was "cooperative" and allowed the U.S. to fight for it, and now it wants to collect. And the myth lives on. □



## *Japan Told to be Nice to Israel*

The U.S. government is lobbying for improved Japanese relations with Israel. Recently, the State Department communicated, through the American embassy in Tokyo, its wish for improved Israeli-Japanese relations.

There are strong indications that American pressure on Japan is about to pay off. It is believed that during his meeting with President George Bush in early April, Japan's Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu let it be known that Japan was reconsidering its policies toward the Middle East in a significant departure from its traditional pro-Arab policy.

Planned changes in Japan's Middle East policy are said to include increased contacts with Israel, technical cooperation, and reconsideration of Japan's policy of cooperating with the Arab economic boycott of the Jewish state.

It is also believed that, under the euphemism "refugee aid," Japan will give financial aid to Israel to pay for the settlement of Soviet Jewish immigrants. Washington is particularly interested in this matter, to reduce Israeli pressure for American funding of Jewish immigration and settlement.

On the other hand, Japan is interested in silencing criticism of its economic and financial policies in the U.S. Japan has been subjected to severe criticism in and out of Congress for its trade policy, and Japanese investments in this country have given rise to intensified fears of the consequences of Japanese economic clout. In Japan, such criticism is understood as Japan-bashing, which became more intense during the Gulf War. Some Japanese fear that the War on Iraq was part of a U.S. campaign to "discipline" rebellious Third World countries, and they are anxious to please, or at least not to provoke, Washington. Hence the new attitude toward Israel and its powerful friends in Congress.

It is noteworthy that Jews and their influence in the United States have become a favorite subject of Japanese publishers, and it is said that more than 100 books have been published on the subject in Japan during last year. And the role of Israel's friends in provoking the war against Iraq has not gone unnoticed. □

## *The Israeli lobby sharpens its teeth*

# Churches to be Target of Pro-Israel Lobbying

In its most recent annual conference in Washington, the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the principal Zionist lobby in the United States, charted its strategy for the coming year. Its purpose remains the same: selling Israel to America to ensure continued massive support for Israel, particularly financial support for the settlement of hundreds of thousands of immigrants now pouring in.

AIPAC also fears mounting pressure on Israel to comply with United Nations resolutions on its occupation of Arab lands. The Israeli lobby, knowing that in the post-cold war period only America can make Israel budge, wants to make sure that U.S. policy remains captive to Israeli wishes. This increased need for financial and political support is motivating the Israeli lobby to double its efforts not only to keep Congress in line, but also to manipulate American opinion on the state and local levels.

Still smarting from the fact that grass root opinion in this country has been influenced by the Palestinian intifada and Israel's iron fist repressive policies, and sensing increasing impatience with Israel's refusal to make any concessions for the sake of peace in the Middle East, the Israeli lobby wants to tighten the screws. It has not yet forgotten that during the 1988 presidential elections, many local constituencies around the country passed Palestinian statehood resolutions, and that the resolution in support of Palestinian national rights was debated by the Democratic national convention. The Israeli lobby, accustomed to nonopolizing public opinion on the Middle East, was shaken by the experience and considered it a serious challenge and a sign of erosion of support for Israel in this country.

AIPAC will by no means diminish its hold on national policy or the "attention" it pays to national policy makers in Congress and the White House. but it fears that local public opinion would at some future time lead to a change of attitude in Washington. To ensure Washington's pro-Israel policy, it needs to work harder on the folks back home.

## *The Church and Academia*

Strategists for the Israeli lobby focus on two main targets for their future work: churches and universities. These two types of institutions, because they have particular interest in issues of freedom and human rights, have shown interest in the plight of the Palestinians under Israeli rule and have expressed concern about Israel's continued occupation. The Israeli lobby now wishes to "discipline" them.

AIPAC has made a particular effort this year to attract Jewish college students to its conference and to involve them in its campaign on Israel's behalf. Student attendance at this year's conference was about double that of last year's. AIPAC trains students to monitor courses and guest lecturers and organizes them as its eyes and ears on college campuses.

Similarly, AIPAC wants to stem the tide of support for Palestinian rights by main line churches. In recent years, Israel lost support outside the fundamentalist movement, and the erosion of that movement's influence in American society, due to scandals of all sorts, threatened to isolate Israel's supporters and to marginalize them. For that reason, the most recent Zionist powwow called attention to the need to work harder on the churches to bring them back to the Israeli camp.

Ironically, AIPAC's biggest problem remains Israel. Its repressive policies in the occupied territories, and its anti-peace policy exemplified by its arrogant defiance of the international community, and even its insensitivity to American needs in the Middle East, make Israel an embarrassment to its friends.

To avoid the embarrassment of supporting Israel as it tries to remain the last colonial power, its friends in the U.S. will concentrate their efforts on undermining a serious peace initiative which would compel Israel to "put up or shut up." They will buy time for it as it creates "new facts" in Palestine. □

# Palestinians in America

*One Vision, Many Paths*

## PAS Walks for Palestine

For the last three years, Palestine Aid Society chapters have been organizing "National Walkathons" to express solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for independence and to raise funds to help the people of occupied Palestine. The Walkathon is held the same day in many cities around the country, usually around June 6, in commemoration of the 1967 occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

This year, PAS Third Annual Walkathon will take place on Saturday, June 8. So far, it is scheduled to take place in Ann Arbor, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, Houston, New Haven, New York, Orlando, Philadelphia, San Francisco, San Jose, Toronto, and Washington.

Last year's Walkathon, said PAS, succeeded in raising over \$50,000 which was used to assist Palestinians in the occupied territories. This year, PAS expects to double that amount.

PAS is a non-profit charitable organization. It was established in 1978 to provide financial and moral support to Palestinians in occupied Palestine and Lebanon. Among the projects it has supported are: carpentry vocational training center in Beirut; children's clothing workshop in Ramallah; kindergarten in the West Bank; built a bomb shelter in a refugee camp in the south of Lebanon; helped market embroidery produced by Palestinian refugees; and it has assisted a variety of health care institutions and services. PAS has also supported U.S. delegations on fact-finding missions to the occupied territories.



## Camp Palestine, 1991

The Palestinian Youth Organization, Roots, plans to hold two sessions of its annual summer camp for Palestinian and other Arab youth in June and July. The first session will be held from June 22 to July 6, and the second session from July 7 to 20. The camp will be at Roots' facility in Lake Minton, Ohio. The facility accommodates 120 participants. Roots provides transportation for a limited number of registrants on a first come basis.

Roots has been organizing Camp Palestine since 1986. Participants are young people between the ages of 9 and 18. They are "supervised by experienced adult counselors," says Roots, and the camp fee of \$200 (\$250 to non-members) includes room and board, snacks, a Camp Palestine T-shirt and hat, writing materials and souvenirs. There is also a registration fee of \$50. Discounts are offered to siblings.

A variety of activities await camp participants. They include:

- ▶ Arabic classes (three skill levels)
- ▶ Palestinian history and Arab culture
- ▶ Arts, crafts and films
- ▶ Folk dancing and singing
- ▶ Sports: swimming, soccer, basketball and volleyball.

Roots says that the camp is designed to sharpen individual skills as well as to encourage cooperation and team work. Participants not only learn more about their cultural heritage, says Roots, but they also learn self-reliance as they take care of their living space and personal belongings. They also make new friends "in a healthy, joyful, natural environment" under the guidance of experienced Roots camp counselors.



The deadline for applying for Camp Palestine is May 15, 1991. Interested people should contact Roots at (202)543-7991

## United Holy Land Fund

United Holy Land Fund (UHLF) is a Palestinian-American humanitarian organization dedicated to aiding needy Palestinians, particularly in occupied Palestine and Lebanon. First established in 1969, UHLF now has a wide variety of programs and reaches thousands of Palestinian families and social institutions.

### UHLF Programs

▶ **Project Loving Care:** This program matches needy children with sponsoring families. The child continues to live with his or her parents, and the sponsor donates \$20 a month which cover the child's essential needs. Children correspond with their sponsors and keep them informed of their situation and progress. UHLF says that currently it has 600 sponsored children in occupied Palestine and an equal number in Lebanon.

▶ **Scholarship Funds:** UHLF helps subsidize the education of thousands of Palestinian college students through its scholarship programs. The program focuses on the encouragement of vocational training in Palestinian institutions.

▶ **Kindergartens:** Thirteen kindergartens have been established by UHLF in Palestine. This program is particularly important because there are no publicly supported kindergartens.

▶ **Health Services:** Health care is a major concern of UHLF. It helps by supporting health care facilities, such as those of the Palestine Red Crescent Society which operates hospitals and clinics for Palestinians in several Arab countries. It also supports training programs in the fields of nursing and para-medical skills in occupied Palestine.

▶ **Prisoners' Friends:** The Fund supports the Nazareth-based Prisoners Friends Association, which provides financial aid, medical care, and rehabilitation services to Palestinian political prisoners and their families.



United Holy Land Fund  
P. O. Box 1981  
Chicago, IL 60690  
Telephone: (312) 332-3131



## Women Call for Action on Palestine

### *Appeal for Implementing United Nations Resolutions*

**T**he Berlin-based Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) appealed to the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to help the Palestinian people attain their long-denied national rights by ending the Israeli occupation. The appeal was made on the third anniversary of the Palestinian uprising in a letter sent to the embassies of the permanent Security Council members in Germany and to the government of Germany.

#### *Text*

*Your Excellency,*

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the "intifada" the WIDF would like to express its concern over the continuing violation of the Palestinian people's rights in the territories occupied by Israel. We appeal to you, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council to make all possible efforts to ensure respect for international law, human rights and the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East and the world over.

Since 1948 the Palestinian people have been fighting for their legitimate rights recognized by the international community, the essential ones being "Return or compensation, self-determination and an independent state." Israel refuses to recognize them, defying international public opinion and ignoring all United Nations resolutions.

In December 1987, the Palestinian people, in order to draw once again the attention of the world to the justice of their struggle, took the defense of their legitimate rights into their own hands and launched the revolution of the stones or "intifada." Israel continues its oppressive practices including collective punishment, curfews, demolition of houses, closure of schools and universities, confiscation of land and measures that are particularly harmful to the Palestinian women and children.

The WIDF, in compliance with the resolutions of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, which affirms that the advancement of Palestinian women, their full equality and self-reliance can only be achieved by an end to the occupation and the attainment of their rights, asks the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to:

- take steps to protect the Palestinian people in the occupied territories;
- make every possible effort to ensure the implementation of the U.N. resolutions on the Palestine Question;
- adopt a resolution on the convening of an international conference on the Middle East to solve the problems and settle the conflicts in the region and to ensure peace and security for its peoples.

We hope you will convey our message to your government and your representative in the U. N. Security Council.

*WIDF Secretariat*

## NGOs Campaign for Palestine

**N**ow that the Gulf crisis is over, the question of Palestine should be moved to the top of the world's peace and justice agenda, according to the International Co-ordinating Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations on Palestine. The Geneva-based group said that the solution of the problem "is already outlined in the *existing* United Nations Security Council resolutions."

The international community, said a March 2, 1991 statement by NGO chairman Don Betz, must act with the same urgency and determination as it did in the Gulf crisis "to resolve the issue. We should not be tempted, the statement added, to resuscitate old plans which attempted to evade talking to the acknowledged Palestinian leadership, the PLO. □

### *Palestine Perspectives*

#### *"The magazine of contemporary Palestinian Affairs"*

*"Taint people's ignorance that does the harm, 'tis their knowin' so much that ain't so."*

*Artemis Ward*

◆ The Palestinians have been victimized by disinformation more than any other people. They have been dispossessed and displaced; they have suffered repeated massacres; their human rights have been ruthlessly and systematically violated; and their national rights have been denied. Even their existence has been questioned and disputed!

Yet, the Palestinians have risen above their pain and made conciliatory moves to resolve their conflict with Israel. But they are still portrayed as villains and obstacles to peace. ◆

*Don't be a victim of disinformation  
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## The Palestinians Too Are "Here to Stay"

### Why Israel Keeps Trying and Failing to Make the Palestinians Disappear

*Since it began late in the nineteenth century, political Zionism has been trying to perform a disappearing act on the Palestinians, to no avail. But it had to try, to justify the usurpation of Palestine and to conceal its victims. Its inability to succeed in this goal has been one of its most significant failures.*

*Zionism, and then the state of Israel, have always felt a compulsion to keep trying, for both practical and ideological reasons. After the Gulf War, Israel sees another opportunity to evade the Palestinian reality. Will it be able to take the debate back to earlier times, when even the existence of the Palestinians was disputed?*

#### Land Without People

The Zionist movement began its act of deception by claiming that Palestine was an empty land. Palestine, the ancient Land of Canaan, was of course one of the most ancient countries and had a high population density at the time, but the Zionists coined the absurd slogan "Land without people, for a people without land."

They continued their act of deception when they, and their sponsors, "absentified" the Palestinians by calling them "non-Jews" even when they made up more than 90 percent of the population of the country. Thus, the British Balfour Declaration which in 1917 adopted Zionism called the Palestinians "the non-Jewish communities." This denial of the Palestinians was necessary to justify the denial of their national rights.

Even decades later, after Israel came into being, its leaders continued this Zionist myth. Golda Meir, when she was Prime Minister of Israel, persisted in the denial of the existence of the Palestinian people. But the Palestinians, like the proverbial skeleton in the closet, kept haunting the Zionists. Every time the Zionists thought that they closed the file on the Palestinians, they came back with greater presence.

No longer able to deny the existence of the Palestinian people, Zionists came up with a new version of the same myth. The Palestinians do exist, now they admit, but they are not entitled to national rights. That is why Israel today speaks of the possibility of "limited autonomy" and denies independence to them. When Israel understands that the Palestinians are here to stay, peace will come. ☐

#### To Our Readers

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#### Update...

### Shamir's Latest Gimmick

Fearing international pressure on Israel to face the Palestinian issue after the end of the Gulf War, and fearing that the U.S. might be pushed to live up to the principles it used to justify the war on Iraq, Israel sought to preempt a serious peace process with a gimmick. On his most recent visit to the area, in early April, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was handed an Israeli proposal to sell to the Arabs. Mr. Baker, not expecting anything from Israel, was delighted and proceeded to do exactly what Shamir wanted.

Israel which has been evading international demands for an international peace conference in which all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO would be represented, proposed a regional conference instead. It is another way of avoiding the international consensus, embodied in numerous U. N. resolutions, calling for an independent Palestinian state.

At the same time, the proposal seeks to re-bury the Palestinian issue while Israel looks for other Arab states to "do a Sadat" and reach separate peace agreements with Israel. To give the process the appearance of legitimacy, Israel would also go through the motion of finding "acceptable" Palestinians who would endorse whatever solution it chooses to ram down their throats.

Once again, another opportunity for making peace is being wasted. ☐

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